/723 cont./

him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasána.

With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the čiéxaus. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "huš, huš ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

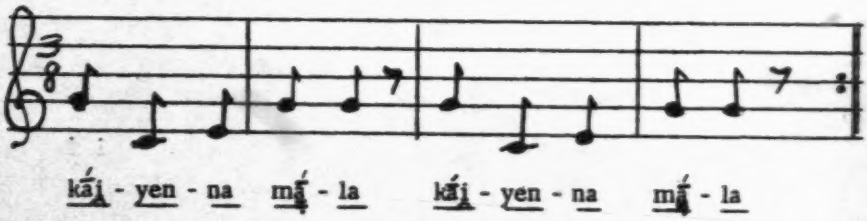
/766 cont./

857 231 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 524 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

● [33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamála in the following rhythm: /767/



/767 cont./

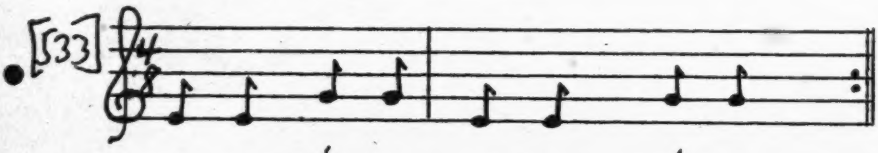
down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lúra from lurtélli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of their bodies:

/768 cont./
After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandēlla: This game is almost like čenalóra. Here, too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in čenalóra and hence does not sway as far to one ends. The word wajyandēlla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:



/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wājyana, the bow, and dála, dúla, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hājyekaší: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

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/769 cont./

The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the čiēxaus festival because it is quiet.

Halē-kuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word

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in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

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Kaklēxana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 857 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

857 534 Hą́ualamaškétesa: This is a ring game played by girls and women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed; it finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:

The word hą́ualamaškétesa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalõmöskõta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewánasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwána,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/770 cont./

857 dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

534 Kaašēte: This game shows many similarities to hāyalamaškétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:

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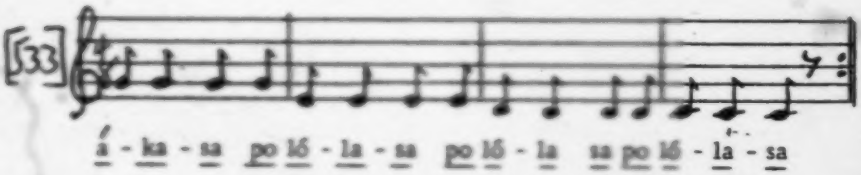
This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives " 'kaašēata,' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Málaštaxāinasa: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

/771 cont./

While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in málaítaxájnasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kflaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/847 cont./

X881 293 It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Yamana push it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hut framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone treats his dance staff carefully and often renews the painting on it.

X881 533 After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hṓ sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being half-subconscious, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /848/ inmates of the Great Hut. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this state finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Soon their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the čjéxaus celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

X881 /848 cont./
533 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The ʧíɛxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the ʧíɛxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortu-
177 nately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food
264 on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

/859 cont./

themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male olwʉ́ʉ́la were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the ʉ́ʉ́ʉ́ʉ́ hut in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetʉ́ʉ́a and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three olwʉ́ʉ́la were driven down to the water twice in the depth of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

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Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the olwʉ́ʉ́la for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the olwʉ́ʉ́la a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

/860 cont./

morning when old Alfredo noticed my troubled state, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat motionlessly crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the Tahgan!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his protégé every sponsor is almost unfeeling.

The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

4. Body Decoration. The Tamanu quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The ulwaiis commonly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The sponsor himself regularly paints these designs on his protégé. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a mussel shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines or dots on the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the ulwaiis consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

/917 cont./

figure in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

Y. Song and Dance

A person who enters the Tšiuaia but wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tune is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the Tšiuaia but they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

1. The Common Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetšiša, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each ukwala.

/918 cont./

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A special order on the part of the leader or a request to particular persons would be unnecessary, for all the people present are never asleep at one time. One or another of the old people prefers to spend the greater part of the night awake in order to abandon himself quite undisturbed to his thoughts, while humming to himself for hours. Thus the singing is never interrupted; as though it were passed mechanically, one person takes it up naturally from another and carries it on until he, too, is replaced without hesitation.

This type of singing is extremely simple, for it consists merely of the constant repetition of a single word with a slight deviation in pitch. Without exception, they utter a low awáj which they repeat quickly four to eight times, heavily emphasizing the first awáj and letting the subsequent ones diminish gradually until the final awáj dies away completely. Each person chooses the pitch most agreeable to him, which becomes higher in his enthusiastic excitement. In the forenoon and in the dead of night the singing sounds weaker and softer, and it is loudest in late afternoon, leading into the group singing in the evening.

One must not imagine this vocal rendering as anything like an organized choir; quite the contrary, the individual suits himself in every respect as he sees fit and according to his personal inspiration. Everyone starts and stops and sings louder or softer when and however it suits him; no one pays any attention to the tempo and pitch of anyone else. In this respect the singing is a great hubbub. Nevertheless, the ear is not particularly offended because the individual rendering as such is low and sounds deep and hollow. Since everyone sings in an undertone and for himself alone, as it were, one does not, in any case, expect unison. Sometimes it seemed to me as though these people had no ear at all, since no one accommodated himself to his neighbor. This singing, however, as an expression of spiritual excitement, is strictly personal and hence cannot be in exact accord with that of another. As we have said, each individual changes his voice and the tempo and volume of his singing several times throughout the day, all depending on his inner state.

If one inquires as to the meaning and value of this constant singing, I should like to emphasize above all its psychological necessity. It seems to me to be a means for each individual to

/918 cont./

X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awai, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

X 881 535

/920 cont./ they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the uswáala shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The uswáala, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the uswáala, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

X 881 533

If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud waiting began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/921/ Then Gertie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Stepping along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

/921 cont./

X881 533 The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Thus I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the čiéxaus for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, awāi. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

X881 533 535 It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great cluster and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the čiéxaus hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

X881 535 786 While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people standing in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /922/ "That person has been seized by kespiš [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the čiéxaus hut until he is exhausted.

One evening clumsy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

X 881 535 786 of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth, hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čiéxaus hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kéšpiš seizes him!"

X 881 535 533 It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the t̄áxer song, the so-called song of the yékamuš. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the t̄áxer song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the t̄áxer song is also intoned at the end of the entire čiéxaus celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

X 881 533 781 The particular purpose of the t̄áxer song is "to attend to the spirits who have come from afar to the čiéxaus gathering, to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X 881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the táxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various késpix assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X 881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the ušwáala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X 881 302 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the ušwáala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152 time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152 Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two Whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533 4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X 881 /926 cont./
533 simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 The people had already been loudly singing for about two
533 hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted
264 with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is
533 extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and
535 with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds
264 it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group
537 singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice:
152 "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiexaus. We
609 want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

X881 537 152

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 533 535 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetáita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetáita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetáita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetáita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetáita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetáita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetáita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéxa, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéxa whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/935 cont./
that hurts me. I arrived quite stuffed, that is why I could not move fast enough!" Response: "awáj!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

Then he started a song. While he continued the melody, he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let myself be looked at here. -- Those two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "awáj." The winefkéxa: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /936/ My hearing is good; I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wéa!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Yetáita gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hõhohohohõ, and the winefkéxa croaked a loud "héx." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "awáj!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winefkéxa."

Three old women with beautifully painted torsos stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hut. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "awáj." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awā́j." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awā́j and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefkḗwa cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awā́j from outside, Walter said: "We began this čiěxaus so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetā́ita of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[Actually, southeast. — Analyst.]

/937 cont./

X881 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
625 X ciéxaus!" Animated talk by the others.

533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westeners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkéwa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X881 Suddenly all the uswáala stood up, arousing all the adults.
[753] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X881 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
535 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/941 cont./
X881 524 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 513 533 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uš̌wā̤ala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uš̌wā́ala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 524 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few enwomen will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uš̌wā́ala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

X 881 524

inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

[533]

At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ámaxel, the game of the sea-lion áma (Otaria jubata), and then kētélaxel, the game of the great gerfalcon kētéla (Polyborus tharus), then gērápuxel, the game of the common albatross gērápu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular ušpérčixel, the game of the oyster-catcher ušpérči (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hájyekaššnaskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kaklēxana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čiéxaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "séskin skája ki-wéla kúpa hawéla mútu nanáa." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

/950 cont./

X 881 The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

X 881 553 During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an uiwala also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called utipin, utiapisin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Yamana avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of ïïipisënjis or ïïipinkipa. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first čiexaga. Now that their hëakuxëolan is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce this new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Šámakuŭwáia (Punta Remolino), I was an ïïipisënjis for the Yamana; thereafter I was called ïámakuïënjis. Koppers was named kumbudënjis after Kumbútu (Puerto Mejillones) where the initiation took place in 1922.

X 881 562 For the other formality which must still be observed, /951/ they regularly choose the last evening in the čiexaga hut. It culminates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation [533] the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yetáia who was nearby.

After the women led the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

/954 cont./

X881 S24 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiẍaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiẍaus hut (p. 813).

X881 S33 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older person intones the tẋer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tẋer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tẋer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiẍaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 346 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.

/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hĭĭ hĭĭ... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Watauinĕiwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. SD:653 gives yinŭŭa and yinŭkĭpa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arnĕmutu tălauwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (e):332 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tălauwaja, or tăllauwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tălauwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1122/ a tălauwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. SD:308 gives tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tălauwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Watauinĕiwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lĭĭma takes the place of tălauwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lĭĭma cry.

/1124 cont./

769 Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1058).

765 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a de-
152 ceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1858, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, have admire, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 It is well known that the chieftain give the shamans a very
•533 welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another at short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two *chiegwaja* discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a *chiegwaja* song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing *chiegwaja* now, since no one has died!" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Nelly to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 30, 1922, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gertie and Peine, who wanted to perform the *chiegwaja* song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed; moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the work house on the farm in Punta Dungeness where there was nothing to disturb us. I got the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now *chiegwaja* can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Calderon was attentively ready to translate the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gertie continued it alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how pitiful is our state, to sing *chiegwaja* because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hunter. *Watayinéwa* has taken away the good ones, he has left

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TG 533

only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (83) that the others trod

> 83. The reason Sarmiento and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hiábagan, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Gusinde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tálagwaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Wataginéwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tálagwaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tálagwaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

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our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us; why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely], I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tálauwaia utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

/1130 cont./
765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
30 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakĕ̄l is like the kŏ̄čel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxĕ̄l, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
293 those who take part in the so-called fight of
the yamalašemŏ́ina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiĕ́xaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
●533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
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Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1131 cont./

765 essential to the yamalaše̋mõ̋na in connection with the lõ̋ima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tã̋lauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Wataųinẽ̋wa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abã̋ila up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wẽ̋lapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Wataųinẽ̋wa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaše̋mõ̋na. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

/1136 cont./

765 152 578 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollasten Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 535 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalaŝemǒina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1330 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tā́nuwa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, maltreating, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Masemikens places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kínamjā́ma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Masemikens again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampáĭa has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hāj hú́u, hāj hú́u in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arms over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1407 cont./

It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagination or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kēšpix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lóima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ušwáaléxamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ušwáaléxamuš has begun to practice independently.

Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables háiyang háiyang hó are repeated to these melodies, or hóh yō yō, or finally hainán wagán harán and similar variations.

/1408 cont./

X756 787 533 A uswaléxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yefáčel-xéola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yefáčel out. Nevertheless, if a yefáčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yefáčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X756 787 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost completely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yefáčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

/1415 cont./

X756 773 designation ǫ́ona-xéǫla which is the equivalent of yefáčel-xéǫla. The lǫ́ima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauinéiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauinéiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lǫ́ima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lǫ́ima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 787 533 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefáčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefáčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefáčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs, if the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such..."; "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary powers" /translated from Spanish/.

/1415 cont./
X 756 787 ●533 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the moment at which the yefáčel itself takes over the melody and carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefáčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuš is aware of everything that the yefáčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefáčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuš and his yefáčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefáčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The késpiš of the yékamuš gives way to the yefáčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefáčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefáčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X 756 302 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apáwa which he ties around his forehead (p. 1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X 756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiéxaus (pp. 713, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as hapaxēl, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwēxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawēr-a is only worn by the yēkamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiéxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiéxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,
533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

/1468 cont./

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up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" /translated from French/. In Spencer:111 it is said: "The words, they say [in their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down in parrot form from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Alakaluf tribe" /cited in English/.

how else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not [854] sing any kind of cradle song to her darling whom she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sways back and forth she repeats the sounds hūš hūš. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p.585).

The songs in the čiéxaus, which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few sounds on the same pitch, carried on at night sometimes by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. 791); more elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p.822). In songs of mourning, especially in the yamalašemōjna, the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch; the melody is constantly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p.1090).

I would broadly characterize the tā́xer as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a čiéxaus (p. 84). The brown meadow bird, tā́xer, invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable yékamuš, it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.

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533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1469/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted mussel to everyone present. The kĕšpiš of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the táxer bird. Far out on the high seas these kĕšpiš meet other kĕšpiš and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving kĕšpiš and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these kĕšpiš take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed; the other kĕšpiš remain far out over the ocean. During the táxer song the kĕšpiš of a human being leaves its body, exactly as it does when the person is dreaming. The song is always sung seriously and calmly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Yamana express with the word kĕšpiš in this explanation clearly corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the táxer song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every yékamuš has a particular song that was given to him by his yefáčel (p.1318). The čōwánni song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the introduction of which is reserved for the yékamuš (p.1349); in the east the čōwánni song is called uwáwen-yékmuš, in the west, atúile-yékamuš. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "dream state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called lōjma-yékamuš because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

The pasánna may be regarded as a kind of jolly folksong; the designation tapalisánna is less common. Everyone may sing them wherever and whenever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the pasánna were first given to the western Yamana group long ago by the Halakwulup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

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533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word ariwa, as well as ačagwărafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasánna of the drunken ones"; it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ēk'soxwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [s]:1013). In another pasánna the expression guanáko seftihōr is repeated. The word guanáko possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasánna, for otherwise they use only amēr-a. This pasánna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasánna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasánna.

533 302 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akájinix song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

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369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

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533 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The čõwánni song and every yẽkamuš song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the tẋ̣xer song, the

[177] čiẽxaus song, and the pasánna songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

571 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

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126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 522 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alikanlis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ínawēr, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.520), is called hanaxwénteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tauwēla, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaxwéremega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umáku, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S2t6 Tahgan S2t6

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

296 [293] Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 16). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 [857] Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tornalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tornalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were [533] common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball

526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely 533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to [534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. [769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each [787] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kakleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telowia*, are songs of mourning; the *orua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jorus* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *uowa*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 234.